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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CATAMNESTIC STUDY OF THE JUVENILE OFFENDER.

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The problems confronting the science of criminology are so well known and so generally agreed upon, that it seems almost superfluous to enter into an extensive discussion of them here. The entire question resolves itself into the well recognized truism, that we must gain a thorough insight into the personality of the criminal before we can hope to deal with him in a rational and effectual manner.

The revolution brought about in the science of criminology by the positivistic school of Italy has passed its acute stage and the reaction noted in all quarters is the result of the recognition of the danger of replacing pure reason by sentimentality, which the positivistic school carries with it. We all agree with Lacassagne that "every society has the criminals that it deserves" but we also must keep in mind that every society has the unalienable right to protect itself from the criminals that it has.

The constant increase of recidivism, however, is sufficient evidence that society does not properly take care of its criminals. The cause of this is well known. In the course of time we have come to appreciate the fact that little in the way of reformation can be done in the mature habitual criminal, and if anything is to be accomplished in the way of prevention of crime, we must direct our efforts in behalf of the juvenile offender, the future recidivist. Our studies must above all be concerned with the causes operative in the production of crime in the young and we must endeavor to gain a correct insight into that anomalous species of humanity which already in its earliest years of existence, manifests anti-social tendencies and traits. This work is now being carried on to some extent, especially in this country. In certain municipalities the judges of the juvenile courts have finally had their eyes opened to the fact that physicians, especially those trained in psychopathology, are a necessary adjunct to the juvenile court. I have only to call attention to the excellent work done in the Psychopathic Institute in connection with the Chicago Juvenile Court.

But in order that this work may bear fruit, it must be supplemented by thorough catamnestic studies of the juvenile offenders.

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This, I believe to be, the only rational way of approach to the problem. This will in time, I believe, furnish us data concerning the criminal which will enable us to evaluate in a correct manner the various traits and characteristics of the juvenile offender and thus enable us to render a correct prognosis in a given case. Once we shall reach a stage in the science of criminology when we shall dare to say of a given juvenile offender, as we now unhesitatingly say of the leper, "Here is a human being who will always be a danger to his fellow-man and, therefore, should be permanently isolated from his fellow-men," the problem of recidivism will be solved.

We cannot, however, arrive at a proper conception of the nature of the juvenile offender by merely studying a cross section of him at any given moment of his life. In order to understand man, especially abnormal man, we must study him in a longitudinal section; we must note his mood of reaction to experiences in every-day life, under all manner of conditions and circumstances; we must investigate the motives and desires which prompt his conduct; we must find out how effectually he adapts himself to the environment in which he happens to be placed and in how far he is able to modify the world about him so as to make it subservient to his needs and wants. The same problems which confront criminology today, psychiatry had to face some years ago. In order to be able rationally and scientifically to deal with the insane the psychiatrist found it essential to establish certain criteria which might enable him to tell with some degree of certainty what the future life of a given insane person will be. In the last analysis it is this very same thing which we are aiming to attain in our dealings with the criminal. The problem which is constantly before us in dealing with juvenile delinquency is what might be expected of the future life of the juvenile under consideration and what must be done towards directing his future into proper channels. So after all it should be our aim to establish certain criteria by means of which we should be able to render a proper prognosis. That we possess no such criteria at present can be denied by no one.

As I have already stated, psychiatry had to face the same problems. With the advent, however, of the Kraepelinian school these have in a great measure been solved. Kraepelin by studying the entire life history of his patients was able to show that certain disease pictures when studied in cross section may simulate one another very closely clinically and at the same time be of the most diverse significance prognostically. He further showed that certain acute psychotic disturbances are merely the outward expression of an underlying pro-

gressive disorder and though the acute manifestations may disappear and leave no apparent trace behind them, the great majority of these individuals will spend the rest of their lives in institutions for the insane. By calling attention to certain symptom-complexes, which are especially characteristic of certain mental disorders, he gave us the means by which we are able at the present time to predict with a fair degree of certainty what the future life of a given patient will be. We can now tell without great fear of contradiction which of our patients are going to spend the rest of their lives in institutions.

Now, criminality is generally conceded to be an expression of a diseased personality and there is no reason why the same principles which served to advance our knowledge of psychiatry should not be employed here. It is with this object in view that the following cases are here reported. They concern the life histories of several individuals who started upon their criminal career at a very early period in life and it shall be our aim to find out in what respects, if any, these individuals simulate one another, whether it is justifiable to include them all in one group and whether the traits manifested by them may be considered as criteria illustrative of a definite type of criminal and of sufficient import to serve as a means of prognosis.

A. F., aged 31 years; admitted to the G. H. I. April 7, 1911. Father alcoholic; died of cancer of liver and stomach. Mother died of tuberculosis. One brother has been confined in the Gowanda State Hospital for the Insane the past five or six years; has always been an excessive alcoholic. One sister, aged forty-two, has tuberculosis. One of her children died of tuberculosis of the bones. Another sister is hyper-religious and eccentric.

Patient was born at Olean, New York, in 1871. He knows of nothing unusual attending his birth or childhood. He entered school at the age of six, and attended irregularly for six or seven years. He was usually older than the other children in his class, and was held back a year in the third and fourth grades. He left school at the age of fourteen, while in the fourth grade. He then worked a while in a shoe store, commencing at a salary of four dollars per week, and receiving six dollars per week at the time of his separation. As far as is known, he did his work well, as he was promoted during his stay there. Soon after commencing to earn money he began to indulge in alcoholics. He became intoxicated one day and set fire to a store, which resulted in the death of a human being. It did not take much at that time to make him drunk—two or three glasses of whiskey being sufficient. He does not know definitely why he set the place on fire; adding, "Perhaps I was drunk and did not know what I was doing and maybe I just wanted to see the fire. I always did like to see fires. Of course, I did not know that somebody was going to get burned to death." He is not certain whether he felt sorry for the deed, adding, "Why should I care? I didn't know the man that was burned. He was no relative or friend of mine; anyway, the people around there said he was no good, and that it served him right." He was sent to the Elmira Reformatory where he

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remained three years, when he was transferred to the New York State Hospital for Criminal Insane at Matteawan. He did not like the Reformatory a bit, they were nagging him all the time. He says it was like a deaf and dumb asylum; a fellow could not even talk when he wanted to, and if he did he was paddled for it. The paddling didn't make him behave, because he adds, "You can't make a fellow behave by beating him all the time." He was later transferred to Dannemora, spending about two years in all, in both of these institutions. He did not like it at the hospital, either, because they made him work, and he hated to work; so finally he asked to be transferred back to Elmira, which request was granted him. On returning there he was put to work at bricklaying, but could not get along with the fellow in charge, the latter was too much of a bully and worked him too hard, so finally, they shipped him to the new Reformatory at Napanoch, New York. Here he was given employment by the physician in charge of the hospital, and after ten months of good conduct, was paroled. He says he behaved well these ten months because he was treated well by the doctor. While on parole he went back to Olean and obtained a position in a tannery where he worked for six months, receiving two dollars per night. He was drinking heavily all this time, and one night, failing to return to work, owing to his intoxicated condition, was discharged. He states the above is the longest he ever worked at any occupation since. Shortly after being discharged, he was arrested in company with several others for robbing a post office. He was about twenty-three years of age then. He claims he had nothing to do with this robbery, and it was just an unfortunate incident that he got mixed up in it. He was placed in the jail, and while there the warden tried to poison him. He developed various ideas that poison was placed in his food, that his stomach was all dried up, and because he would not eat, he adds, "They sent him over to this hospital, G. H. I."

He was admitted here the first time on May 29, 1904, on a medical certificate which states: "About April 19, 1904, he refused to take food and claimed to be kidnapped. He had delusions of persecution—said his head was full of nails and requested that his brain be cut up. Said the President was his friend."

On August 1st, he eloped while at work in company with another patient. The record of his mental disturbance at that time is very meagre, and nothing of a definite nature can be obtained therefrom.

From here he beat a part of his way, and walked a part of the way to Cincinnati, where he has a sister living. One night he heard her talking to her husband about sending him back to the hospital, so he robbed them of what money they had in the house, bought a revolver, and returned to Olean. He says he bought the revolver in order to protect himself from a certain police captain at Olean. He frequently refers to this man in a vindictive and abusive manner. States that this police captain was after him all the time; that whenever any crime was committed in the city, he was immediately suspected. He was "tired of this" and bought the gun, intending to kill the police officer if he should bother him any more. Here he adds, "Anyhow, the cur was killed afterwards, I am glad of it." After a series of crimes, tramping and debauchery, during which he suffered from an attack of delirium tremens, and served a sentence of nine months in a Pennsylvania jail, he was again arrested for a post office robbery and sentenced to five years at Leavenworth, whence he was transferred to this institution April 7, 1911.

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As has been stated, he commenced to indulge in alcoholics at a very early age, and has continued this habit during his lifetime. He states that he had an attack of delirium tremens during which he received a severe burn on his left arm by jumping out of a window into a bon fire, while trying to escape imaginary persecutors. During the years 1903-04, he was addicted to the steady use of morphine and cocaine. He has led a very loose sexual life; has been infected with gonorrhoea on numerous occasions, and contracted syphilis several years ago. He has never married. He intended to marry once, but the girl, he found, was not true to him and he gave her up. He is a Catholic, attends church occasionally when at liberty, and was in the habit of going to confession while at the penitentiary.

The medical certificate on his present admission states that on the night of March 20, 1911, the patient was reported for shouting while in his cell, claiming that invisible enemies were shocking him with electricity. There were no symptoms observable before that. Has delusions of persecution in which invisible enemies are continually choking him with electricity and other means and are planning to do him other bodily harm.

He complained of not being able to sleep and of being tortured. Says they wired his cell and gave him an electric shock; that he spoke to the President of the United States and was told that the latter would visit him.

On March 22nd, complained of being choked by supposed workmen. Later he stated that he had been kidnapped at Erie, Pennsylvania, and expected the President of the United States to get him out in a few days. He requested the doctor to send for a priest, complained that they had failed to send for the President as promised. Said that he had received a severe shock the night before from the people upstairs, and stated that they had stored two thousand volts to turn on him. Following this he was restless at night and was apprehensive of being burned to death. Finally he wrote a letter to the President in which he complained that his life and health were in grave danger; that he was the victim of a conspiracy, and was being detained illegally at the penitentiary, stating that while he was walking peaceably along the railroad track, he was kidnapped by enemies who had a design upon his life. He was arrested, and while in jail these same officers robbed the post office and later accused him of this crime. They bribed a witness to testify at the trial against him and because of this he received an unjust sentence for five years. He believed that the friends of the chief of police of his home town, Olean, New York, were paying large sums of money to the warden of the Leavenworth penitentiary in an endeavor to have him electrocuted, and that their efforts had nearly proven successful, as he had been tortured night and day for the past month, in fact, he was unable to stand it any longer, and if the President did not come to his relief at once, he intended to take the matter in his own hands and make short work of the warden. He thought he was accused of the murder of the police officer who was killed in his home town, but he insisted that at the time of the murder he was locked up in jail, hence could not have done this.

The patient continued in this trend of thought and conduct until his transfer to this institution April 7, 1911.

On admission here he talked in a coherent manner, was clear mentally and quite well oriented. He recited the same story as has been given above, namely, that he was kidnapped in Pennsylvania on a trumped-up charge of post office

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robbery, was tried by a phony court and sentenced for five years at Leavenworth. Soon after arriving there the warden had an electrical apparatus rigged up with which he was tortured constantly. He complained to the doctor about this and begged to be put in a cell so he could get some sleep, as he could not sleep in his cell on account of these electric shocks. He heard them saying from above that they were going to torture him. One night they had him paralyzed on one side.

In the endeavor to explain these persecutions he states that probably the railroad police who arrested him were friends of the police captain at Olean with whom he had had trouble for a long time, and who was later killed by someone; that probably they blamed him for this killing, and that was the reason they trumped up the charge of post office robbery against him. He believed that the electrocuting which he was receiving at Leavenworth was a part of this scheme to get rid of him, as he knew that the police captain at Olean was a friend of the warden of the penitentiary. In giving this recital he was somewhat nervous and irritable, constantly rubbing his head and face in a troubled manner. He kept to himself, making no acquaintances with those about him and was apparently somewhat worried and apprehensive. He slept well the first night, stating that nobody bothered him. He stated that he was not insane, that there was nothing wrong with his mind. When asked why he was sent here, said simply because of a trick, that he was told that he was coming to the President to secure pardon, and instead of this, was brought to this institution. He was quite unstable emotionally, very surly and irritable, and soon transferred to his persecutory ideas to the officials of this institution. He complained of having electricity on him; stated that McClaughrey, at Leavenworth, rigged up a wireless apparatus where by he could send wireless messages to him constantly. Stated that he had been chloroformed at night and that his body was lined with electric wires through which electricity was running all the time. He became very abusive to the physician, stating that the latter was in league with the officials at the penitentiary to torture him. This state of affairs continued with the addition of the delusional idea that the physician was endeavoring to hypnotize him, until the early part of September, 1911, since which time he has acquired full insight into his mental disturbance, realizing fully that the various ideas which he expressed were delusional, and that he must have been suffering from a mental disorder at the time.

Mental examination revealed no defect, and his knowledge was quite in accord with his educational advantages. Morally, he was distinctly defective. Physical examination shows various stigmata of degeneration, such as asymmetry of the face; large outstanding and flattened ears; narrow and dome-shaped palate; irregularly placed teeth; prominent parietal bones; two symmetrical depressions on the occiput; congenital flat-footedness, and a sullen facial expression. His arms are covered with tattoo marks. Sense of pain somewhat diminished. Sympathetic reactions could not be elicited. Wassermann reaction with blood serum nearly complete positive.

At present the patient is fully recovered from his recent mental disturbance, and has an adequate amount of insight into it. The general characteristics of his makeup, however, remain unchanged. He is still as surly and irritable as ever, and is ever ready to resent actively anything which he construes as an encroachment upon his rights.

We have before us an individual, who, to start with, is badly tainted hereditarily. His childhood history is indefinite, aside from his statements of having been usually the lowest in his class. He launched upon an industrial career at a very early age in life and simultaneously with commencing to earn money he began to indulge in alcoholics. His industrial career was cut short soon after. He gets drunk and sets fire to a store, causing the death of a human being. This, at the age of seventeen. His moral status can readily be guessed when we remember his reply to the question as to whether he was sorry for the deed. "Why should I be sorry? I didn't know the man that was burned." The usual course of the law was taken in the case and he was placed in a reformatory. He spent nearly six years between that institution and hospitals for the criminal insane, when he was released on parole. It is of interest to note here how he reacted to the stress of confinement in the reformatory. We find that on two occasions during this period it became necessary to transfer him to an insane asylum. We shall have occasion to refer to this again later.

If there ever existed in him any chance for reform, the reformatory apparently killed it, for his life since then has been an interrupted chain of crime and debauchery. He has been a prey to all the vices of modern civilization; he is a confirmed alcoholic, was addicted to the habitual use of morphine and cocaine; has been infected on numerous occasions with gonorrhoea; has contracted syphilis and received a serious burn during an attack of delirium tremens. In all, he spent eight of the past fourteen years in penitentiaries, jails, and institutions for the criminal insane, and has, now, an indictment for larceny hanging over him. Released from a six year confinement he finds himself thrown upon his own resources and is confronted for the first time with the problem of providing for himself. The poorly begotten organism whose start in life, already deficient in those attributes and forces which are so essential for an effective struggle for existence and which was rendered still more deficient by a six years sojourn among criminals, finds itself unable to cope with conditions as they exist and several months after his release from imprisonment, we again find him arrested for robbery. Being taken hold of by the law does not mend matters in the least. On the contrary, we see the same tendency to break under the stress of imprisonment, with overwhelming burden of an enforced routine existence, reassert itself as on the former occasion, and in reaction to the situation he develops a psychosis which necessitates his transfer to an insane asylum. Placed under

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the less exacting regime of a hospital he soon recovers and avails himself of the first opportunity for an escape which presents itself. Finding himself again at freedom he endeavors to find some explanation for his unfortunate position in life and in the midst of this he discovers that his sister is planning to return him to the hospital. Even his own sister is against him. He begins to assume that paranoid view of life which characterizes his later existence. Now he knows where where the trouble lies. The whole world is against him; no wonder he can't get along; his own sister is trying to force him back into the hands of his persecutors. His own deficiencies and incapacities he projects upon the environment. It is the world about him that is at fault; not he. They are after him all the time. He buys a gun with which to protect himself and with renewed antagonism against society in general, he defiantly launches upon a career of crime and vice. Again taken hold of by the law, the old story repeats itself. He lands in an insane asylum.

Upon an analysis of the content of his psychosis we find that he elaborates a story of having been kidnaped in Pennsylvania, upon a trumped-up charge of robbery, taken before a phony judge and given an unjust sentence of five years. The police officers who arrested him were friends of the murdered police captain at Olean and were hired to do this job, because he, (the patient) was suspected of having had something to do with this murder. He dreads being placed in the penitentiary because he knows the warden is likewise a friend of the murdered police captain and might perhaps be in league with his persecutors and take this opportunity of avenging himself upon the suspected murderer, and sure enough, soon after his arrival at the penitentiary, the warden has an electrical apparatus rigged up with which to torture him, etc. His psychosis takes the usual course; he recovers soon after having been removed from the oppressing environment.

The question arises here, "Are we dealing with a psychosis which engrafts itself upon the individual without any apparent cause, a psychosis possessing a course and termination wholly independent of outside influences, a psychosis having no tangible relation to any definite situation; or have we here a psychogenetic disorder, a pathologic reaction of a degenerative constitution to an unfavorable situation, a paranoid picture developing as an outgrowth of the individual in reaction to a definite experience?" In other words, are we dealing here with a case of dementia praecox, as Bleuler would have it, or with one of the degenerative psychoses. If we agree with Stransky that

dementia praecox depends upon an intrapsyche ataxia, that it is the disturbed coordination between the intellectual and affective faculties of the individual which makes the picture of dementia praecox what it is; this is not a case of dementia praecox. The acute emotional reaction to all situations which this patient manifests, the development of the psychosis in consequence of the depth of his feelings concerning the unpleasant experiences and the entire absence of this important incoordination between his feeling and acting, would, in itself, be sufficient to separate his psychosis from dementia praecox. If we agree with Kraepelin and others that dementia praecox has a more or less definite onset, a more or less definite course and termination in a dissolution of the individual's psyche, our case is not one of dementia praecox. Our patient has had the same attributes of character and personality always. There is no indication in his life history of any definite onset of a retrograde process, or of any progression towards dissolution. His psychosis, such as it is, is the outgrowth of his degenerative personality, and if we assume this to be true, if we consider the psychotic manifestations of this individual as pathologic expression of his anomalous personality, the question arises—to what extent have his criminal acts likewise been pathologic expressions of the same underlying degenerative basis? I believe that the relation between the criminality and mental alienation of this man is analogous to that existing between two branches of the same tree. The same degenerative soil which makes the development of the psychosis possible in one case, expresses itself in crime in another instance. The factors which determine whether the one or the other phase will manifest itself, depend entirely upon environmental conditions, and are accidental in nature. The stresses which these defective individuals meet with in freedom need not have such a strong influence upon them as to produce a psychosis. The want of moral attributes makes it possible for them readily to surmount many difficulties by means of some criminal act, difficulties, which in a normal person, would require extraordinary effort to remove. When placed, however, under the stress of imprisonment where they can neither slip away from under the oppressive situation, nor square themselves with it by some criminal act, the organism becomes affected to such a degree that the development of a psychosis is greatly facilitated. The character of the delusional fabric of these individuals is such that one can easily find a ready and more or less correct explanation for it. It is chiefly a compensatory reaction in an endeavor to make a certain unpleasant situation acceptable.

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J. H., aet. 37. Admitted to the Government Hospital for the Insane, March 8, 1909. Maternal grandfather died suddenly from unknown cause. Was a race-track operator. Father alcoholic. Mother suffered from vertiginous attacks. There were twenty-one children in the family, fifteen of whom died in infancy. One brother died of brain tumor. One sister is neurotic; her eight-year-old son suffers from congenital heart disease. Patient was born in Manchester, England. He was the twentieth child; mother was over forty years old at the time of his birth. He was an unusually small and puny infant and remembers using crutches when a child. At seven he was bitten by a dog and dragged about on the ground for a long distance; when finally rescued was unconscious for a long time. No further ill after-effects. School life was characterized throughout by truancy and disobedience and finally terminated in expulsion. At that early period of life he already showed marked egotism, extreme vindictiveness and an utter disregard for consequences. The immediate cause of his expulsion from school was a fistic encounter with a teacher. At the age of eleven his family migrated to this country. He states that he was different from other boys of his age, did not care for the ordinary childhood sports, and the only friends he had were a younger sister and a dog. He states that he couldn't get along somehow with the other boys, that he often thought the whole world was trying to down him and persecute him. About that time somebody stole his dog. He brooded over this so much that he finally jumped into a creek, intending to commit suicide, but was rescued by bystanders. He has made several other attempts at suicide in later life. In describing these he elaborates them with a lot of fanciful trimming, dilates on the importance of the various situations attending them, and how much uproar they caused among those who knew of them. At the age of fourteen he had a quarrel with another boy. Upon being reprimanded by the latter's father, he could not rest until he had obtained a gun and fired at the boy's father while the latter was sitting at the supper table with his family. In relating this incident he states with great vanity that he fully intended to kill the boy's father; he wasn't going to be insulted by anyone and let it go at that. Here was probably the first well-illustrated instance of his pathologic emotionalism, the tendency to a complete dominance of a certain affection. He was committed to some sort of an industrial school for a year. Upon his release from there he went to work in a machine shop in his native town. One day a couple of gentlemen and a lady walked through the shop and stopped in front of the machine on which he was working. He did not like this, became angered, picked up the dog which followed them and threw it into the oil tank which fed his machine. At sixteen he ran away from home. He gives a history of an industrial career and apparently he had no difficulty in learning a trade, while it is quite likely that he was a skilled workman. His entire industrial career, however, is characterized by an inability to fit harmoniously into the situation at hand, not because of an intellectual deficiency but because of the disharmony between his various mental faculties. His extreme sensitiveness and emotionalism, his vindictiveness, the total lack of a sense of responsibility, his impulsive existence, all these, were always at play in his relations with men. If to these he added his extreme egotism and vanity, the reasons for his conflicts become clear. "Here, the foreman thought he knew more than I did." "There, I did not like the way they were running the business," etc. Among his occupations, saloon-keeping and professional gambling played an important role. He

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finally gave up all attempts at leading an honest existence and turned to crime. Our record of the man in this regard is rather incomplete, but according to his record at the Secret Service Bureau, he was sentenced in 1890, to a two years' term for highway robbery. In 1902, to three years for counterfeiting; in 1904, to three and a half, and in 1908, to six years for the same offence. These sentences were incurred under various aliases. He married at a very early age. He says he made up his mind one night to get married and two days later was married. His conjugal life, like everything else he engaged in, proved a failure and was characterized by repeated desertions. He commenced using alcoholics at an early age and has indulged excessively all his life time. He has had several gonorrhoeal infections, and has an active luetic infection at the present time. On May 5, 1908, he was sentenced to a six years' term of imprisonment. Soon after, it became necessary to perform an operation for appendicitis, and upon recovering he began to complain of having been cut open and having poison put inside of him. The U. S. Government sent men down to the prison who were threatening to kill him. He saw detectives from Washington, whom he recognized. He was very apprehensive and refused to submit himself to an examination, and made homicidal attacks on the officers. On March 8, 1909, he was admitted to this institution. His conduct here was characterized throughout by the same attributes of character which were at play throughout his entire anti-social existence. He was at all times very emotional, flying into a rage on the least provocation. He was very sensitive, becoming offended on the least provocation and when laboring under some imaginary grievance his antagonism and vindictiveness knew no bounds. He was constantly plotting and scheming some means of inciting a revolt among the other inmates and took every opportunity to put himself forth as the champion of the other patients. He was very egotistical and vain and showed a marked tendency to interpret most trivial occurrences in his environment as having some reference to him. He was always ready to endow every incident with a personal note of prejudice. He showed throughout marked fluctuations of mood. One never knew what sort of a reception one would meet. He was a pathological liar, was keenly alert to everything that transpired about him and was always ready to utilize every incident to his own advantage. He was depraved to a very marked degree morally. He gave his past history with the least sign of regret and when questioned concerning the reason of his criminal life, he objected strenuously to being called a criminal, insisting that what he did was right. At times he impressed one by his mode of reaction to various daily occurrences as being as naive as a child and suggestible to a very marked degree. He frequently threatened to commit suicide if refused some of his impossible requests and showed a marked tendency to hypochondriasis and exaggeration of actual ills. On this basis he developed various persecutory ideas, exclusively directed against those who had anything to do with his care and safekeeping. The warden at the jail before he came here tried to poison him and took the opportunity of accomplishing this while he (the patient) was undergoing an operation. The Government sent Secret Service men down to watch him and persecute him. Here the physicians are doing the same thing. They are trying to down him, to make his life miserable for him, etc. Throughout his sojourn here he was clearly oriented, knew everything that was going on and failed to show the least indication of the existence of a deteriorating process. He showed also a marked tendency to write a good deal

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of poetry and fiction in which he spoke of himself as a martyr who has been persecuted and downed all his life time. His stories were of a fantastic, adventurous kind, in which gambling, shooting, and similar highly melodramatic situations were enacted. On July 17, 1911, he was returned to prison as recovered. Another point of interest in this case and one to which I have briefly alluded before, was his tendency to the exaggeration of symptoms and to malingering, but the malingering which he manifested was of the kind that the child manifests in an endeavor to attract attention to itself and to arouse the sympathy of those about him.

Here again we have before us a kaleidoscopic picture of the life of a human being who from childhood showed tendencies so anti-social, so criminalistic, that it is hard to get away from the belief that all the attributes which went to make him just what he is, must have been inherited. Let us take this poorly-begotten organism and follow it through life. We shall see how its existence has been a continuous round of conflicts with everything with which it came in contact. He entered school and meets with the first obligation, with the first necessity for a well-regulated, purposive existence. What is the result? Truancy, disobedience, and finally, expulsion—not because of intellectual deficiency, but because of those same attributes which later served to put him in the penitentiary. It was the first evidence of his pathologic emotionalism and vindictiveness. We next see him in an effort to lead an industrial life, but here, too, everything he does proves a failure and likewise, not because of intellectual deficiency, but because of a disharmony, a disproportion, between his various mental faculties. He could not, somehow, submit himself to any well-regulated existence. His egotism and absolute lack of the sense of responsibility make it impossible for him to adjust himself effectively to the world about him. He next tries matrimony, and the same story reasserts itself. His conjugal life is characterized by repeated desertions; and thus he becomes steadily more debased, more depraved, sinks to the level of the professional gambler and finally even this becomes too strenuous for him, and he turns to a life of crime. At the age of forty we find him with a record of numerous arrests, and as far as is known, one-fourth of his life time has thus far been spent in jails and penitentiaries. The characterological anomalies at the bottom of his career came to the front already in his childhood days. Before completing his fourteenth year we find him deliberately planning the murder of a human being because of an insult. His idea concerning that situation has not changed in the least since then. He now speaks of it without the least sign of remorse or regret. As a matter of fact, he is inclined to impress one as being rather proud of that deed, and he cannot see the

criminality of it. The atavistic nature of his act in throwing the dog into the oil tank is quite evident. Then his attempts at suicide throughout his lifetime, evidences of a pathologic emotionalism, must also be remembered. These are a few examples of his mode of reaction to everyday occurrences in life. Is it at all strange that he has developed finally into the habitual criminal? On the contrary, it would be rather strange that an individual of such attributes should turn out to be an honest, peaceful citizen. He likewise, was a prey to all the vices of modern civilization, and these, as in the preceding case, unquestionably added to the dissolution of the original defective organism. We finally meet with an illustration of the other phase of his mode of reactions. Following imprisonment on a charge of robbery, he develops a psychosis which necessitates his transfer to an insane asylum. Brief as the description of his psychosis has been, it is sufficient to illustrate that here we are likewise dealing with a psychogenetic disorder manifesting itself as a reactive expression of a degenerative constitution to an unpleasant situation. Shortly after his arrest he is being operated on for appendicitis and upon recovery elaborates the idea that the warden of the jail, one of the members of that large class against whom he has been warring all his lifetime, takes this opportunity of placing poison in his body. He sees and hears people around his cell whom he recognizes as Secret Service men sent down from Washington to torture him. On his transfer to our hospital he readily carries over his delusional ideas to the officials here. He is simply being persecuted by a bunch of anarchists, who are trying to down him and make life miserable for him.

It has long ago been questioned by psychiatrists whether these so-called delusional ideas of this class of patients deserve to be endowed with the value of delusions. Let us not forget that a similar attitude toward officialdom exists in the minds of criminals enjoying a respite from the law. It is the officers of the law, society's institution for the prevention and punishment of crime, that these people have to fear, and when they speak of being persecuted by those who have their care and safe-keeping in hand, it is not, necessarily, a pathological manifestation. The only difference between such paranoid ideas in the criminal at freedom and the one in confinement is that in the latter case, coupled with the stress of confinement, the stress of an enforced routine existence, these ideas assume enormous proportions and in some instances become supported by fallacious sense perceptions. Their exaggerated self-consciousness, their great tendency to introspection, a tendency which is very much enhanced by

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confinement and plenty of leisure time for such indulgence, and their paranoid attitude towards law and its officers, makes it possible for them to endow the least occurrence in their environment with a personal note of prejudice. The least deviation from the normal routine has a meaning to them, a meaning which is readily interpreted as some evidence of persecution, of prejudice, etc. The course of their disorder shows so much evidence of this psychogenetic character that it is impossible to think that we are dealing with a psychosis which apparently has no relation to the situation at hand. Every symptom which they manifest can be traced to some definite cause and can be clearly explained as being of the nature of a reaction, of a motivated expression to a definite experience. It is, I believe, unnecessary to enter here into a lengthy discussion to show that we are not dealing here with a case of dementia praecox. These psychoses are too psychological in their origin, course, and termination, to give one the least basis for the assumption of a dementia praecox process. Of course, I am fully aware of the claims of the Zurich school headed by Jung, that dementia praecox is just as much of a psychological disorder as any that we know of, but I must agree with the opposite school, championed by men like Kraepelin, Bonhoeffer, Birnbaum and others. Jung has not proven this point by his otherwise excellent and very thorough analyses of cases of dementia praecox. All that he can claim to have established by his work is that here and there we can find certain plausible explanations for some symptoms which the dementia praecox case manifests. We will, therefore, conclude that we are here likewise dealing with one of the degenerative psychoses and we will consider the criminal tendencies of this individual likewise as expressions of that same degenerative soil which permitted of the development of the psychosis.

P. F. alias H. White, male, aet. 42. Admitted to the Government Hospital for the Insane, March 11, 1910.

Father is a chronic alcoholic; one brother a wanderer, has not been heard from for twenty years; one sister suicide; one sister left home at the age of eighteen and has not been heard from since.

Patient was born in England in 1868. Was a healthy child as far as he knows; no history of spasms or convulsions. Talked and walked at the usual age. Of the diseases of childhood he had whooping cough, measles and scarlet fever, from which he apparently made good recoveries. Entered school at the age of seven; attended irregularly until he was twelve years old. After leaving school he made an attempt at learning a trade and worked as apprentice for some time. At fifteen he endeavored to enlist in the British Navy, but was rejected on account of palpitation of the heart. In 1884, at the age of sixteen, he joined the Royal Marines; soon found this to be disagreeable to his tastes, and

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wanting to procure his discharge, he stole a suit of clothes off a dummy with the avowed purpose of being discharged for the offence. Was arrested, pleaded guilty, and served a sentence of one month. In 1886, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted in the Royal Fusileers and deserted therefrom about a month later. He then re-enlisted in the eighteenth Royal Irish Fusileers, shortly afterwards deserted, and then gave himself up; was court martialed, dishonorably discharged and given a sentence of six months, which he served in Brixton's Military Prison, London. In 1887, at the age of nineteen, under the name of Henry Sayers, he joined the Welsh Division of the Royal Artillery, whence he deserted two months later and sold a kit and coat belonging to another recruit; was apprehended, tried and given a sentence of six months. In all, he was dishonorably discharged from the service seven times. In 1892, at the age of 24, he immigrated to this country. On arriving here he worked about a month at railroading and then enlisted in the army, deserted after serving three months, and crossed the Canadian border. He subsequently returned and gave himself up to a sheriff, was court martialed, dishonorably discharged, and given a sentence of one year and a half. After being released he resumed his nomadic existence but in a more pronounced manner. Since 1895, he has had no definite occupation, subsisting on begging, stealing, and peddling minor articles, chiefly on the two former. He has spent most of his life since then in penitentiaries and workhouses, and when at liberty, in cheap boarding houses and missions. Since 1895 he has been arrested twenty-two times for vagrancy to his own knowledge, served four years at Moundville and Atlanta for robbery, and six months for theft. He commenced to indulge in alcoholics at a very early age and has been an excessive drinker all his life. Has been intoxicated on numerous occasions and has had delirium tremens twice. In 1897 he indulged in opium smoking for thirteen days and in 1904 sniffed cocaine for the same period. On three or four occasions in his life he has had sexual experiences with men and there is a definite history of inversion. He was married twice. His conjugal life with his first wife was a very unhappy one. He attributes this entirely to his own fault. There were three children from this union, all of whom died in infancy. He left his first wife without obtaining a divorce from her and subsequently, in 1898, married again. This union was happier than the former one. His second wife, however, died in 1905. There were no children from this union. He acquired gonorrhoea and syphilis in 1899. In 1907 he prepared an elaborate attempt at suicide, purchased a dagger for this purpose, and set June 13th as the date. He was, however, arrested shortly before this, and thus his plan was frustrated. He states that it was not disgust of life that drove him to do this. He simply had a desire to see whether he had the nerve to execute such an act. On February 2, 1910, was arrested for vagrancy and begging, and given a sentence of 180 days in the work-house. While in his cell he attempted suicide by inflicting superficial cuts over the praecordium, wrists and calves of the legs with a piece of broken table knife. These were very insignificant in nature. While confined in the work-house he developed various fallacious sense perceptions, saw visions of weird and fantastic nature, and frequently these would take on a religious and sexual coloring—he would see nuns' heads. He also developed auditory hallucinations, and would hear voices of a disagreeable nature. He was subject to peculiar sensations as though there was a wire frame-work inside him which made him squirm. This necessitated his transfer to this institution.

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On admission he was well-nourished, but prematurely gray. He had numerous tattoo marks on his body: on the right forearm a woman in tights and the head of another; on the left forearm initials U. S., flag, ship and cross; over dorsum of left hand a star, and a band across the wrist. His vision was impaired to some extent; otherwise negative. Aside from a futile attempt at suicide, which he made shortly after admission, his conduct has been excellent. He has never been known to become involved in altercations or quarrels with his fellow patients, and has obeyed fully the rules and regulations of the hospital. He was somewhat circumstantial during a lengthy conversation, but in a superficial interview he made quite a natural impression. He was clearly oriented and showed no memory defect. His answers to the intellectual tests failed to show any intellectual impairment. His emotional tone was unvaried. He was always very polite, courteous and optimistic, and very popular with the attendants. He willingly assisted with the ward work at all times. He was keen and alert, fully cognizant of everything that transpired about him. He spent his time reading and rarely associated with his fellow patients, whom he considered below him intellectually. He believed in reincarnation, and thought himself to be in a former being the Pharaoh of Egypt and the Earl of Warwick. (There were present fallacious sense perceptions.) He had tactile, auditory and visual hallucinations of a religious and sexual coloring. These were, however, transitory in type, and perhaps better called pseudo hallucinations, as he was able to bring them on and cause their disappearance at will. He was frank in his statements and discussed the various ideas without hesitation. He was inclined to write a great deal, especially poetry of the waste basket variety, and considered himself quite proficient in this respect. On February 2, 1911, he appeared before the Staff Conference where the advisability of granting him parole of the grounds was considered. Upon being refused this privilege he again attempted suicide by making several superficial cuts across the wrists. These were quite insignificant in nature. At the present writing the patient, I am told, if anything, has improved somewhat. At any rate he shows no intellectual impairment nor evidence of any progressive mental disorder.

Here is another individual who started out in life with a heavy hereditary burden. His early childhood, so far as can be determined, was normal. He entered school and here met the first obligation. He wavered, showed a tendency that early, to be unable to lead a well-regulated life and in consequence his school attendance was irregular. The next difficulty he met was in attempting to learn a trade. He soon found this too strenuous and sought an environment less exacting in nature, and at fifteen we see him endeavoring to enlist in the navy. This is probably the first indication of his "wanderlust." He was rejected, and after another year's effort to get along in his immediate environment, finally succeeded in entering the navy. Soon, however, he found out that navy life was not what he had pictured it to be. It, likewise, was too exacting. He had to live up to prescribed rules, obey orders—things to which he could not reconcile himself, and in consequence failed of a proper adjustment. He knew he could not

stand it, he must get out. He must seek something more suitable, something less exacting. In looking for a way out of the situation he availed himself of the first opportunity, stole a suit of clothes with the avowed purpose of being discharged for this offence. Here is the starting point of his criminal career. He did not reflect upon the consequences. He knew he must gratify his desire to get out of the navy, must do it at any cost, and yielded to the temptation. This yielding to temptation, this lack of power of resistance, characterized his entire life. He yielded to every vice that crossed his path; he stole, he drank, he became a morphine habitue, he sniffed cocaine, acquired gonorrhoea and syphilis in his promiscuous sexual trends, and lastly, yielded to sexual perversion. After having served his first sentence he was released and again found himself thrown upon his own resources. He had not, as yet, reached the stage of the habitual criminal with the utter disregard for property rights, nor had he reached that nonchalance of the hobo, whose philosophy rests upon the dogma that the world owes him a living, that tomorrow will provide for itself somehow. He began to yearn for the service again. There, at least, he was provided with shelter and food. There, at least, he did not have to worry for the tomorrow. He entered the army, deserted, re-entered, deserted again, and kept this up until he was dishonorably discharged seven times. He could stand it just so long. His lack of stability, his inability for any continuous, purposive effort, made him slip from under the stress. He has less dread for the future now. He was beginning to acquire that naive philosophy that somehow the world would provide for him. We next hear of him across the ocean. Here his "wanderlust," his love of adventure, reasserted itself, but somehow he did not fit into existing conditions, and unable, because of his particular organization, because of his disequibrated mentality, to create for himself a suitable environment, his existence continued to be an unbroken chain of conflicts, of contradictions, and of failures. He finally tried matrimony, but here, too, he soon felt the overwhelming burden of duties and obligations. He was not assisted in sustaining these by any moral sense, by any paternal feelings—in these he is absolutely lacking—and after a more or less continuous struggle to cope with the situation, left wife, situation and all. He realized subjectively that he and his wife were not congenial. As a matter of fact, his entire life has been a continual round of uncongenialities, of inability for a proper concourse with men and things in the world. Throughout his life his ego occupied the centre of the stage. It is he that has to be satisfied first. After leaving his wife he resumed his

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nomadic existence and some time later married again. But by this time he was a full recidivist, as well as an accomplished hobo. The nomad was no longer able to adjust himself to a communal existence. Besides, it required effort. He was expected to provide and he could not be expected to do anything. Fate was in his favor—his wife died. It must not be forgotten that by this time he had made full use of the kind oversight of the law. He had been arrested innumerable times, he had breathed the atmosphere of the work-house and partaken of the penitentiary menu. The once unfinished product had been shaped and polished by the machinery of law and order of our modern civilization so that all dread and fear of punishment had lost its value with him. At last the organism which was originally begotten from decayed stock, which had been tossed and knocked about through its entire existence and preyed upon by all the vices that modern civilization affords, began to falter and shake. He developed a psychosis. I shall not enter here into an extensive discussion as to the diagnosis of the disorder. The total absence of any indication of progression in this man's mental disorder, the pliability of the various delusional ideas and hallucinatory disturbances, his perfect control over them in the matter of bringing them on and causing their disappearance at will, speaks sufficiently against dementia praecox.

A. W., (col.) age 28. Mother suffers from neuralgia and headaches; one sister died of pulmonary tuberculosis. One brother is now serving a sentence at Moundville Penitentiary for assault and battery. Another brother has been frequently arrested for various offences.

Birth and childhood of patient apparently uneventful. During childhood fell from a fence following which he was unconscious for some time. Entered school between ages of 7 and 8, and attended regularly for about two years, when he became unruly and ungovernable—would play truant on frequent occasions, and finally left school before finishing the fourth grade. He worked around home a little while, and was arrested the first time when 11 or 12 years of age, for assault. At 14 he was again arrested for some minor offence, and shortly afterwards was sentenced to one year in jail. On August 20, 1902, at the age of eighteen was arrested for carrying concealed weapons and discharging them in the street, for which offence he served five months in jail. March 3, 1903, sentenced to serve 30 days for larceny, and on the same date was further charged with disorderly conduct, for which he was given 15 days in the work-house. May 1, 1903, he was sentenced to 60 days in jail for petty larceny; July 18, 1903, charged with fornication, but charge was withdrawn. August 31, 1903, sentenced to 30 days in jail for being drunk and disorderly, and committing assault. November 1, 1903, sentenced to 15 days in the work-house on a charge of disorderly conduct. November 17, 1903, sentenced to twelve years for assault and highway robbery. He commenced using alcoholics at a very early age, and has indulged heavily since then. He was admitted to the Moundville Penitentiary December 13, 1903, where he remained until July 4, 1908, when he was

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transferred to Leavenworth. His record at the penitentiary is a very bad one he was frequently punished for various offences and showed a constant tendency to disobey rules and get into altercations with fellow prisoners. He was in solitary confinement several times, and forfeited almost all his good time. Frequently became mildly excited and had to be secluded. On December 12, 1909, he became violently excited, singing, shouting, praying, and cursing in the most irrational manner. This state of excitement persisted unremittingly for 72 hours. He declared that his lungs were rotting with tuberculosis or some other foul disease, and that he was suffocating. He persisted in exposing himself in a nude condition and refused nourishment.

He was admitted to the Government Hospital for the Insane, December 24, 1909. Physical examination showed him to be a well-developed, healthy negro. Both deep and superficial reflexes exaggerated; ankle clonus both sides; hyperaesthesia of abdomen and face. He stated that two or three months prior to his admission to this hospital he became suspicious of his food; had a burning in his stomach after eating; believed that his health was failing him; his breath became short, voice weak and lungs rotting. Early in December, 1909, he believed he had been chloroformed by the prison officials for five days; he is not certain how this was done, but thinks that it might have been poured through the keyhole. During this period he sang like a graphophone; voices said "move his head," and his head would move of itself. When his eyes were open he saw nothing unusual but when they were shut he could hear them operating a machine on his body; they were pumping his stomach, and he became a skeleton. This was done to him through prejudice; does not know who was prejudiced against him, but at the prison they know all about it. Said he had not slept a wink since his admission to this hospital; his breath is short; he has pains around his heart, but thinks he is getting better now.

He was a negro of limited mental capacity, and possessed very little acquired knowledge. He was clean and tidy in his habits, keenly interested in his environment, and well oriented in all spheres. He lacked insight into the nature of his trouble. Attention could be easily gained and held; he comprehended well and readily, and showed no memory defect. There was a very marked tendency to hypochondriasis, and exaggeration of actual ills. Soon after admission the active symptoms of his disorder disappeared, and he gradually acquired an adequate amount of insight, realizing that he had been insane. His conduct, at first orderly, now assumed the same character as that at prison. He frequently became involved in altercations with other patients, and on several occasions manifested decidedly vicious tendencies. He was almost absolutely unamenable to the hospital regulations and on that account had to be frequently reprimanded. He incited the other patients in his ward to all sorts of misdemeanors, and when not having any complaints himself, would fight the other patients' battles. He remained clearly oriented throughout. He was decidedly deficient morally—could not see where his life had been an unsocial one, and does not even promise to lead a better one in the future.

Here, again, we see disease and crime rampant in the family history of a man who himself began to manifest criminal tendencies at a very early stage in life. His school career is characterized by truancy, and he never made an effort at an industrial career. At the age of 11

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or 12 we already find him arrested for an offence against the person. and before having reached his twentieth year, he had received a penitentiary sentence of 12 years. His psychosis is unquestionably one belonging to that large group developing on a degenerative basis, the same soil which is at the bottom of his criminal career. What his future life is going to be may readily be surmised; he has not yet reached his thirtieth year—and by turning him loose at the expiration of his present sentence, society adds only another parasitic and infective organism to gnaw at its roots. It would be, indeed, ridiculous to expect the boy who at the age of 19 was placed in the environment of a penitentiary—the hot bed of crime—to be turned out a better man after having spent twelve years there.

W. A., white, male, age 36 years on admission to the Government Hospital for the Insane, January 18, 1911. Father a chronic alcoholic; mother neurotic; one sister insane; one uncle suicide. Mother enjoyed good health during her pregnancy with the patient, but birth was an extremely difficult one.

Patient learned to talk and walk at the age of 5, when he was severely scalded which necessitated his confinement to bed for a long time. Entered school at the age of 7 and attended for about 8 years, reaching the 6th grade. He experienced no difficulty in learning but played truant on frequent occasions. His industrial career constitutes an uninterrupted chain of failures. He was frequently discharged for various offenses and quarrels with his associates. He commenced to indulge in alcoholics at a very early age, and has been an excessive drinker all his life. Married in his twentieth year and managed to live with his wife for six years, when she left him on account of infidelity, non-support, and drunkenness. One miscarriage and one apparently healthy child were the results of this union.

He came in conflict with the law for the first time at the age of 12 or 13, for some offense against the person. We have an incomplete record of his criminal career, but this can easily be surmised when we take into consideration that part of it which we do possess. Between March, 1903, and December, 1910, he was arrested 13 times for assault, 28 times for disorderly, and drunk and disorderly, twice for house-breaking once for petty larceny and twice for vagrancy. Habitual drunkenness, destruction of private property, and depredation on house furniture, add to the list of charges against him. During this period he served a penitentiary sentence, was tried for murder, and acquitted on a second trial on a plea of self-defense, and on four different occasions, was ordered to be examined mentally. Following a debauch, during which he was arrested three times for assault, he developed a mental disorder in jail while awaiting trial, which necessitated his transfer to the Government Hospital for the Insane.

He developed the idea that someone was always around him looking for a chance to kill him. Continually heard strange voices and noises. Was very nervous and irritable.

The records accompanying him stated that for years he had had a particularly bad and dangerous temper. That he had several previous attacks of mental disorder; had repeatedly committed assaults, and was found not guilty of a murder

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committed 7 years ago—an act of insanity. Had been arrested by the Washington police about 75 times.

His mental disturbance soon cleared up, and on admission to the hospital he was absolutely free from any psychotic manifestations.

He was a well-developed man of average intellectual attainments. He was somewhat unstable emotionally, and his promises to lead a better life in the future were usually accompanied by a good deal of crying. He was a monumental liar, and although endeavoring to impress the examiner with the idea of being quite remorseful about his past life, it was clearly evident that his moral status was a very low one and that his promises and resolutions were merely brought forth to aid him in securing his freedom. He was extensively tattooed and showed remains of old syphilitic lesions.

Upon his release from the Government Hospital for the Insane, he was given a one year's sentence to the work-house, and the Press has been reporting frequent misdemeanors performed by him in the work-house.

This case is interesting only in as far as it illustrates exceptionally well the role of alcoholism in the habitual criminal. It is, however, very difficult to decide whether the alcohol should be considered here the cause of the man's degeneracy, or its result. It would appear that whatever injurious effect inebriety had upon this man, and unquestionably it had, he owes his anomalies of character to causes over which he had no control. We find that his father was a chronic alcoholic, his mother a neurotic, a maternal aunt insane, and an uncle a suicide. That these pathological traits in the antecedents left their impressions on him cannot be doubted for one minute. He was abnormal before environment and personal habits had had time to make themselves felt. He, too, oscillated between the penal institutions and the Hospital for the Insane all his lifetime. That the same degenerative basis lies at the bottom of both his moral and mental alienation, cannot be doubted.

Let us endeavor to see now in what respects the above individuals simulate one another, and whether this similarity is of sufficient import to warrant the grouping of them into one category. Commencing with the family history, we find that disease and crime were manifested in the antecedents, either direct or indirect, of all of them, that unquestionably because of this, not one of these unfortunates was brought into the world with a sufficient impetus to carry him successfully to his goal. In every instance we find that the characterological anomaly became manifest already during their school career. It was the persistent truancy, disobedience and antagonism to submission to a well regulated existence and not so much the incapacity to learn, which distinguished them from the other children in school. The same attributes of character which were at the bottom of their con-

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flicts with the school authorities brought them into the hands of the police authorities soon afterwards. The contact with the outside world soon served to bring out other pathological traits of character. We now see them manifest a pathologic emotionalism, an unbounded egotism, a relentless vindictiveness and an apparently total disregard of consequences. Frictions with the surrounding world, which a normal individual meets in an ordinary manner with a view towards an efficient adaptation to existing conditions, were reacted to by them in a distinctly anti-social manner, with methods entirely devoid of consideration of the rights of others, an attribute so essential for a proper concourse with man. Thrown finally upon their own resources, when they had to rely for their existence upon some industrial pursuit, we find them lacking that most essential prerequisite for the efficient struggle for existence—definiteness of purpose and continuity and persistence of effort. We find them leading a harum-scarum existence, drifting from place to place, and from occupation to occupation, never able to remain at any one undertaking for any length of time.

The next features which stand out prominently in the lives of these individuals are their recidivism and the fact that every one of them came under the observation of an alienist on one or more occasions in his life. What is at the bottom of all this? We cannot, of course, deny the very evident fact that these individuals differ from normal man and that this difference is due to their inferiority. But what characterizes this inferiority? Is it the lack of something which normal man possesses, or is it rather a disproportion, a disharmony between the various individual mental faculties of these individuals? In other words, is their inferiority a quantitative or a qualitative one? Taking the pure intelligence into consideration we find that they show no deficiency in this particular sphere. On the contrary, most or all of them show a degree of shrewdness and keenness which absolutely precludes the existence of an intelligence defect per se. Their recidivism is not due to an inability to distinguish between right and wrong. They know very well what is and what is not right, at any rate, as well as the average person, but they feel decidedly different from the average person about this distinction. They are what they are because of a discord, a disproportion between their various psychic attributes. The exaggerated egotism, which is so common to these individuals, serves to establish a pathologic degree of self consciousness. This in turn makes them feel with an extraordinary keenness the everyday frictions in life, and now the pathologic emotionalism comes into

play and being unsupported by any sense of altruism and morality they give way to their feelings in some criminal act. Their pathologic vindictiveness should also be mentioned. A sustained real or imagined injury can never be forgotten by them.

These, in brief, I believe to be the characterological anomalies which distinguish the individuals herein reported from normal man and which at the same time are sufficiently common to all of them to justify their segregation into one distinct group of criminals.

I shall not enter here into a discussion of what part, if any, environment played in the shaping of the lives of these individuals, for several reasons, chief among which, however, is the fact that I have not had the opportunity of investigating thoroughly the environmental conditions in which they grew up and am, therefore, unable to evaluate properly this phase of the question. The fact, however, that my cases were culled from various sources and that the anomalous traits manifested by them were already present at an age when environment could hardly have had any lasting influence upon them, leads me to believe that it is heredity which is responsible for the major portion of this anomalous product. However, we shall leave this question to the decision of the practical eugenisists. Personally, I fully believe that we are dealing here with a type which may well be designated as "the born criminal." I fully believe that these individuals were always the same as they are now and the probabilities are that they will always remain so. Assuming then, for the moment, that we are correct, the question arises: "Has society dealt with these individuals in a proper manner?"

This question must be answered decidedly in the negative. I will not enter here into an extensive discussion of a system of penology which might be specifically applicable to this class of individuals. I can only fully agree with the current opinions of eminent criminologists on this subject.

At last year's Congress of Criminology and Anthropology at Cologne the following resolution, among others, was adopted: "Hardened and professional criminals, recidivists, who present a great danger to society must be deprived of their liberty for as long a time as they are dangerous to the mass. Their liberty should be as a general rule conditional."

Archibald Hopkins, Esq., has been recently quoted by Gault, as follows: "The Head of Scotland Yard, in London, said not long ago that nine-tenths of the serious crimes there were committed by men who had served one or more terms of imprisonment and who

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might be regarded as belonging permanently to the criminal class. His judgment was that if they could be eliminated from such a situation violation of the law would be diminished to less than a third of what it has been. Why cannot this be done? Let the courts be clothed with the power, after two or more offences, in its discretion, to pronounce a man incorrigible, who shall be sentenced for life to whom no pardon shall issue. By an arrangement between the general government and the states a colony could be established, say in the Island of Guam, where escape would be impossible, and where, under military guard, convicts could be made to earn their own living. Surely society has the right to protect itself from these incorrigibles, who are released only to prey on it again. They also are the class who rapidly reproduce their kind, and at present society puts no obstacle in the way.

"It is exactly as if instead of forming colonies to which all lepers are compelled to go and remain we permitted them, after a brief term in the hospital, to go where they please and to marry and produce more lepers. The incorrigible criminal is worse than the leper because he deliberately and purposely defies society and spreads his contagion. It can hardly be questioned that the permanent segregation of the professional criminal class would very greatly diminish crime, nor can it be questioned that society has the right to adopt such a measure of protection, nor that it would be entirely practicable."

(See this *Journal*, March, 1912, pp. 821 f.)

The only argument, and a very weighty one it is, which can be raised against the foregoing proposition is whether the incorrigible criminal is sufficiently characterized by such unmistakable features which would enable us to recognize him when we see him, and thus justify his permanent isolation from the community. I believe he is, and the cases here reported are fair representatives of that class. Another problem which presents itself is, Where shall we put the incorrigible criminal? If we agree that he owes his criminality to causes over which he has no control and that the crime here is the outgrowth of a degenerative personality, a personality which is distinctly abnormal, it would seem that he belongs in a hospital rather than a penal institution, but is this unequivocally so? It is unquestionably true that these individuals are abnormal, that without actually being insane they evidence from their earliest childhood a more or less distinct deviation from the normal, they may therefore be considered as "border-line cases," i. e., cases which deviate from normal man and incline toward the insane through numerous gradations. As

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soon, however, as their abnormality manifests itself in distinct incorrigible anti-social tendencies, the right of society to protect itself from such an element must be considered. When free from actual psychotic manifestations (which very easily engraft themselves upon this degenerative soil) these individuals do not belong in a hospital for the insane. Here they serve only as a very troublesome and disturbing element, and wield an undesirable influence over many easily impressionable insane patients. They do not belong in a general penal institution because of the very deleterious influence they exert on the accidental but uncorrupted convict with whom they come in close contact in these institutions.

It is my opinion that these individuals forming as they do a distinct species of humanity, shall be segregated into colonies especially designed for them, where under proper *medical* supervision they should be made to earn their existence by means of some useful occupation. It is very obvious that an indeterminate sentence is the only rational way of approach to this problem and this should be supplemented by the vesting of the parole power in the hands of a board composed not exclusively of members of the legal profession, but largely of physicians and particularly those trained in psychopathology.